

*Turnover
To K...
me...
11/1/58*

Some suggestions

(based on the observations made during my stay in Europe 1958/59)

1/ Broadcasts of the free world youth to the countries under the Soviet rule.

This project is based on the simple truth that only a youngster might speak effectively & convincingly to another youngster - only then there will be no suspicions & doubts as to the sincerity & genuine interest in the thoughts & feelings of the audience.

The youth is always more or less rebellious - even in Soviet Union - & in desperate need of understanding, of true friendship. Such broadcasts therefore would bring together the more active element both in East & West in a language both sides could understand. It would considerably undermine the Soviet efforts to distort the minds of its youth by extending a friendly hand & by showing the problems & way of life of the free world youth.

The main requirement for the effectiveness of such broadcasts would be a minimum of outside controls, i.e. the management of such broadcasts should be in the hands of the representatives of the Western youth organizations (don't have any specific ones in mind). These, of course, should be carefully chosen by the sponsoring institutions; the latter would indirectly influence these representatives through ^{strictly} avoiding any kind of orders and/or instructions - the youth should act & work as freely as possible since just the absence of any outside regulations & the freedom of expression (which, undoubtedly, would be felt by the audience) would make the deepest impression on the youthful listeners recruited by the government regulations & indoctrination.

There should not be too much stress on the politics since it seems that the majority of young people ^{on} both sides of the Iron Curtain presently are just fed up with the Cold War tale & dogma - it is boring to them.

Instead these broadcasts should unobtrusively show the great advantages for the youth in a free society, compared to past, dictatorship. They should emphasize a genuine patriotism (by reminding the audience how it was to live under their own, not foreign rule), a humanitarian outlook & Christian spirit (though without using any dogmatism). Here much use could be made by review of the historic past, i.e. how the people of the respective country lived in the "good old days", how they fought for their freedom, etc. Beside history the emphasis should be on the cultural activities - arts, literature, music - of the Free World youth. This would provide the witnesses with ~~an~~ equally needed periods of relaxation, take them away for some measure from the daily tensions & tyrannization by the Party.

The most efficient way to organize such broadcasts would be to make them a joint undertaking of the youth's organizations of the Western countries as well as of those ^{called youth organizations} of the Soviet oppressed nations. The latter would get the opportunity, to achieve more self-respect & to obtain insight in the objective way & efficient activity, of their fellow workers of the free nations - this would be of great importance in the future by creating a working comradeship & better understanding when the great changes would take place; in fact, it would be the best way - if not the only one - to prepare & educate future leaders of the now oppressed nations, to keep their organization alive.

It seems that the best place for such broadcasts would be Western Germany since its youth as well as its political leaders are painfully aware that they have to regain the good-will of the Western nations & since they are still eager to compensate the ills incurred by the Nazis regarding the now Soviet oppressed East European people. Especially suitable candidates for such broadcasts could be found in the U.S.A. among the former D.R. who came to the U.S.A. from Germany around 1950 and now are 20-30 years of age, eager to return to W. Germany for studies & temporary work there.

2/ Better use by the Free World news agencies of the info brought out of countries under Soviet rule by refugees and/or reporters.

It seems that up to now only a negligible part of o/m info reaches the Free World press; and through it - the people of the free nations. Recently there are several reasons detouring for such attitude which definitely prevents the people in the West to get a better picture of what is going on in the Soviet sphere and which thus does not reveal the full truth about the Soviet reality. One such reason - probably the main one - is the fact that such sources of info are usually interpreted by intelligence agencies which necessarily are bound by strict security regulations; it means that ^{this} info remains within in those files or becomes available to a very limited number of persons within such agencies. These persons are mostly professional people who know very well the truth, who don't need to be convinced how bad & wrong is the Soviet system. Further, they are restricted by these regulations to reveal such info to outside people - except in case of sensational disclosures - and therefore the flow of info usually reaches only the subscribers of the such newspapers (these, too, in their majority do not need any additional evidence that the Soviet system is inhumane & inferior to the Western way of life). The result of all this is that the big news agencies supply their customers with unreliable or very limited outlook as to the everyday life of the Soviet citizens, especially the facts & problems of the captive nations. Another reason for this lack of the free flow of info lies in the fact that just now there are thousands of tourists - among them quite a few reporters - of the Free World who now are permitted to visit the Soviet Union as well as its satellites. Superficially it seems an excellent opportunity for gathering info on the spot & by more reliable people than the too emotional & prejudiced former & recent refugees. Nevertheless, one should keep in mind two things: first, the Free World tourists will always be more or less under careful Soviet control - even when it would seem that there is no such thing now & then;

second, the length of their stay will be too short to get fully acquainted with the everyday life, to find people who could really be trusted & who will be ready to tell the truth to a stranger (who might be a provocateur or even a Soviet agent). Therefore their observations will be rather biased, superficial; in fact, their reporting will be more or less ^{indirectly} guided by the Soviets who made a previous screening & undoubtedly were wise enough to arrange the circumstances according to their plans & intentions. - On the other hand the refugees and/or expatriates have spent many years under the Soviet system, know it in details, are familiar with the outside life & the true intentions of the Soviets too well to forget it even in cases where they got some brainwashing or indoctrination prior to their departure. Of course, they often tend to exaggerate this & that in order to justify their step but in general they will give a far more reliable account of their experience under the Soviets than temporary guests of this police state (they won't feel compelled to repay for the hospitality, too).

It might be argued that right now the West tries to find some modern parallels with the Soviets & therefore it won't be prudent to make wider use of the info brought out by people of anti-Soviet attitude. That it might unnecessarily offend the Soviet rulers, make the Cold War more acute, in short - it might endanger the peace. It would be true if the Soviets would abstain using their anti-Western propaganda - but it isn't the case (cf. recent Chruschev's speech in India where he compared the U.S.A. with "worn-out horses") & it won't be as long as the Soviets will be in charge of their people. If so it is only right to provide the people in the West with the full truth, not to hide from them the ugly aspects of the Communism as shown by its former slaves.

Another important aspect in this regard is the way the Soviets usually react to news - if they are properly & widely spread by the great news agencies. There are many cases where the Soviets reacted immediately to such revelations in order to secure the unfavorable publicity they got (deported persons released to their home countries; separated families reunited abroad, etc.). In other words - such publicity frequently results in Soviet concessions inside their sphere of influence.

Knowing it one may only deplore how haphazard has been such publicity, how often we have neglected this method of reaching the adversary & thus achieving results which are seemingly of minor importance for us abroad but which could create a real surge of good-will toward us inside Russia & its satellites - among the men in the street, among the masses - not their rulers, of course.

Much has been done in this respect by the exile press but it can never have such effect as publicity by the great news agencies since the Soviets are well aware as to the ^{very} limited role of the exile press & their influence among the Free World nations. It seems also that beside the purely political advantages that achieved it would be also a moral effect felt both sides of the Iron Curtain - that the Free World press shows real compassion & Christian spirit for the oppressed people. It would undoubtedly also bring closer the post-war refugees from the Soviet tyranny to their fellow citizens in the countries these exiles reside now because right now there seems to be a growing resentment among these disillusioned, partly still unadjusted people against the strong trend of co-existence & the apparent indecision of the Western leaders. Absence of concerted efforts of the Western news media, (or still worse - controversial, confusing attitude in their reporting) in face of the constant Soviet propaganda barrage might even create a situation where some of these hapless people turn against their host countries in case of emergency. It would be a great tragedy, because just these people are still the best witnesses in the West of the Soviet tyranny - by their escape from it, by their consistent refusal to return to their homeland even after 15 years.

There is another interesting factor here. Among the recent refugees and/or repatriates there are some who undoubtedly are Soviet agents (or are still full of fear from the Soviets & therefore might easily become such agents if better disillusioned and left on their own). By interviewing them, especially if it is done by a well-known newspaper or magazine, these hidden or potential Soviet agents are made either harmless (the Soviets would suspect them being defectors) or would be pressed to furnish info which would show the wrongs & deficiencies of the Soviet system - by withholding such info they would attract suspicion.

of the respective authorities in the West (which would start to question their true motives of having left the Soviet sphere).

A project of such reporting by the great news agencies or the largest newspapers in the West would be an especially proper undertaking just now - during the World Refugee Year. It would not be difficult to hire for such job former D.P.s who have graduated from the schools of journalism in the West, who are well acquainted with all the problems & eager to serve this noble cause. Of course, much more effective would be reporting done by more outstanding reporters & journalists (like Marguerite Higgins, the Alsop brothers etc.) but it might turn out to be too expensive.

In any case more use should be made of these sources of info right now when the Soviets are getting increasingly sensitive about the world opinion and are striving hard to pretend that they have changed from brutes to almost superhuman beings. Not that their sense of guilt or shame would have awakened but their present tactics aim for putting their best foot forward & therefore every bit of info which shows them in a bad light results almost certainly in some action of advantage for the West and - possibly still more important - in some concessions for the people under the Communist rule.

If there really exists such thing as peaceful competition then here is the best chance for the West, for its news media, its press.

3/ Cultural competition as one of the best means how to counteract the increased Russification in the Baltic States.

The Soviets will never admit that one of their goals is to extinguish the Baltic nations by deporting and transferring them in large numbers to the Russian proper as well as by intensifying the Russification. They proceed very carefully here being well aware that it might create a very unfavorable publicity abroad, especially among the uncommitted nations. Moreover - one of their much used slogans is the minority problem is: national in its form, socialist by its contents. Thus they try to create the impression that they

are really concerned as to the national culture of the captive Balts; they even claim that only the Soviet system makes this culture flourishing & that the exile groups are doomed to lose their distinctive features by assimilation. Therefore each instance where the Baltic exiles show their skill, their achievements as a national group is of far greater importance than it might seem. It challenges the Soviets to make some efforts on their own in this respect, i.e. to give more opportunity for the oppressed Balts to demonstrate their national culture (song festivals; art of letters not fully dominated by the Party line & its slogans; pre-Soviet achievements of the national culture, etc.).

All this shows that here is a rather weak spot of the Soviets which could be utilized much more effectively than putting the Soviet Russians on defense.

Conceptually speaking, greater use should be made by the Baltic artists, their ensembles, especially in Western Europe. For instance, Latvian folk dance ensembles "Sexta" & "Kamelijs" (both in Gr. Britain), Latvian opera songstress Mrs. Paula Brivkalns, Latvian cellist Artis Teichmanis - to mention only the most outstanding names among the Latvian exiles in W. Europe - should get even more attention, to have the opportunity to reach larger audiences, not only the exile groups & gatherings. But even more important - the W. Europe press should pay them more tributes (it will be well-earned!) thus challenging the Soviets to show that the Balts in their home countries, too, are getting same attention for their cultural activities. And it is quite certain that the Soviets then will strive to counteract to further such manifestations of Baltic national culture. This will unavoidably lead to relaxation of their present drive for Russification - and the Balts would get an important moral booster, would find ways how to strengthen their ranks against the Soviet Russian imperialism (they are rich in experience here because of their past though this time the pressure applied to them is much deadlier, almost unbearable). - For political reasons it would be very effective if this project of cultural competition could take place in so-called neutral countries of Europe: Sweden, Switzerland, even Finland and Yugoslavia.